

Preliminary Edition

THE FIRST BOOK OF CAESAR'S
GALLIC WAR

EDITED BY

HENRY PREBLE



THE FIRST BOOK OF CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR

C. IULI CAESARIS

BELLI GALLICI LIBER PRIMUS

EX RECENSIONE HENRICI MEUSEL EDITUS BREVI-
BUSQUE ADNOTATIONIBUS INSTRUCTUS

AB

HENRICO PREBLE



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PREFACE

THIS little volume containing the first book of an edition of the Gallic War is based upon the idea that ability to read Caesar is retarded rather than aided when the pupil's attention is constantly diverted by notes on technicalities, and by grammatical references. I believe that a less minute knowledge of formal grammar than is commonly supposed to be necessary will enable an average pupil to read Caesar with fair appreciation.

In pursuance of this idea I have reduced grammatical notes and references to the minimum, and have disregarded, as not helping the pupil to a better understanding of the situation immediately at hand, many matters which are generally dwelt upon. For instance, it seems to me that a mis-translation or misconception of a classical passage is seldom caused by the reader's inability to *classify* a subjunctive with *cum* or with *ut*, if he knows the meaning of the verb and notices its tense; or by inability to label an ablative as "of means" or "of specification," if he recognizes the form as ablative at all and can connect it with the words with which it belongs.

Certain cases of quantity, which, like ablatives of the first declension, are often syntactically im-

portant, or, like the penultimate of proper names, are vexatious to look up but dangerous to neglect, I have thought it wise to mark in the text.

Several matters that seemed too large for treatment in foot-notes, and yet essential to the understanding of Caesar's work, I have put into an Appendix. Such are the organization of the Roman army, and certain geographical and biographical details in regard to tribes or individuals mentioned in the text. If I have gone into biography at apparently unnecessary length, it is because Roman names, through the similarity of their endings, seem to me especially hard for the pupil to individualize.

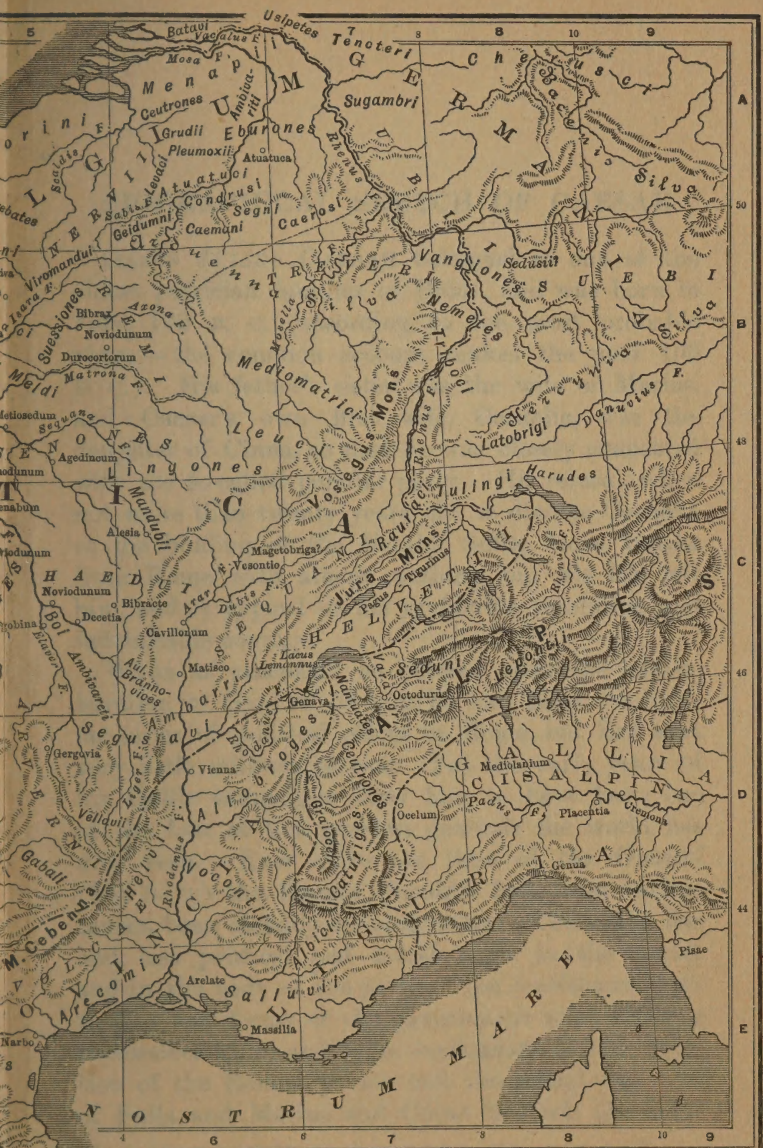
The text is that of H. Meusel, Berlin, 1894, with some changes in the punctuation to bring it into harmony with the principles of English punctuation, and with the relegation to the foot-notes of the passages which Meusel regards (justly, it seems to me, in every case) as interpolations.

Among the various works from which I have derived assistance I am especially indebted to the editions of Caesar by Kraner-Dittenberger, Hinzpeter, and Allen & Greenough; to the account of the Roman army by Rudolf Schneider, attached to Meusel's School Edition of Caesar; and to Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft as revised by Teuffel.

H. PREBLE.

STATEN ISLAND, November, 1894.





BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CAESAR

GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR belonged to one of the oldest patrician families of Rome, and was born in July, 102 B. C. (according to the most probable view,—the common account makes the year 100 B. C.). His father's sister was the wife of Marius, and Caesar's own first wife, Cornelia, was the daughter of Cinna, so that he was closely connected with the so-called popular party. His refusal, when not more than twenty years old, to divorce Cornelia at the bidding of the dictator Sulla, drove Caesar from Rome with almost nothing but his life left him, and is typical of his invincible resolution and indomitable courage.

When as proconsul he entered upon the administration of Gaul in 58 B. C. he had filled the regular series of political offices at Rome, but had seen very little military service. Yet the early years of his Gallic campaigns show him to have been one of the four or five greatest generals the world has ever seen. Ever since the time of the Gracchi (133 B. C.) the Roman Republic had, from various causes, been steadily disintegrating. There was less and less political and moral vigor in the senate and in the body of the people; the traditional institutions and forms of the government were showing themselves more and more inadequate to the situation of the Roman world; and the actual civil wars of Sulla and Marius and Cinna had left the coun-

try in a condition in which further bloodshed was almost or quite inevitably a question of time. The conflict came as Caesar's ten years as governor of Gaul were drawing to a close, and, whatever opinion one may hold as to Caesar's share of responsibility for the war, it is impossible to doubt that his victory was in the interests both of Rome and of the after-world. The reforms he introduced into the constitution and administration of the Roman state prove him to have been among the very greatest statesmen who have ever lived.

That Caesar was also an orator and a writer with few equals, of his own time or any other, is amply shown by Cicero's praise of him, and by such of his writings (seven books upon the Gallic War and three upon the Civil War) as have come down to us. A lost work on grammatical subjects, and his reform of the calendar bringing it practically into the shape in which we still use it, show the variety of studies for which he found time in the midst of his varied and crowded career.

He was not yet fifty-eight years old when he was assassinated on the 15th of March, 44 B. C. In spite of attacks upon his private character such as all great men are exposed to, the balance of evidence points to the conclusion that morally Caesar stood distinctly above the great majority of his contemporaries, and could even bear comparison with the average man of to-day.

C. IULI CAESARIS
BELLI GALLICI
LIBER PRIMUS

I. GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres; quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitāni, tertiam qui ipsorum linguā Celtae, nostrā Galli appellantur. Hi omnes linguā, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitānis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Ma- 5 trōna et Sequāna dividit. Horum omnium fortis-

1. **Gallia.** Caesar uses this name here in a narrower sense than that which we are in the habit of giving to the term "Gaul." He is writing of the country as the scene of his campaigns, and therefore leaves out of consideration the Roman province (afterwards called Gallia Narbonensis) and that part of the Italian peninsula known as Gallia Cisalpina. This latter, indeed, was already coming to be regarded as a portion of Italy. Cf. Ch. X.

2. **aliam.** The slight difference between the use of **aliam** here and that of **altera** in Ch. II. (page 9, line 10) may be illustrated in English by two sentences like the following:—

"George received one book, Jack *another*, and James the third;" and "George received one book, Jack *the second*, and James the third."

2, 3. **Belgae, Aquitani, Celtae.** For a brief account of these peoples, see Appendix I.

6. **dividit.** For the number of the verb, see A. & S. 320 (1); A. & G. 205, *f*; G. 285, 2; H. 463, 3.

6. Notice that the words **horum omnium** refer to the subject of **differunt** in the second line above, thus leaping over the intervening sentence.

simi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant, atque ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent important; 5 proximique sunt Germānis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. Quā de causā Helvētii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere cotidianis proeliis cum Germānis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt.

1. **Cultus** is the greater comfort and the higher standard of living that civilized prosperity brings; **humanitas** is the feeling, quickened by enlightenment and wider human intercourse, of the bond between man and man as beings of one race. Both, by softening the savage instincts, diminish the manifestation of that crude kind of physical courage which warlike people understand by the word "bravery."

2, 3. **minime . . . saepe commeant.** Caesar means that the Belgians have less trade with civilized nations than the other inhabitants of Gaul have; the words **saepe commeant** belong closely together as an expression denoting the frequent coming and going of the traders, and **minime** modifies this combined expression.

7. **Helvetii.** See Appendix I.

10. In the manuscripts of Caesar's writings, as they have come down to us, there is an addition to this chapter which there is strong reason to believe Caesar never wrote. As the passage is regularly printed in editions of Caesar, it seems best to give it here, although undesirable to inflict it upon the reader in the body of the text. It is as follows :—

Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano, continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum, attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvētiis flumen Rhenum, vergit ad septentriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani, quae est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

II. Apud Helvētios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetōrix. Is, M. Messallā, M. Pisōne consulibus, regni cupiditate inductus, coniurationem nobilitatis fecit, et civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius iis persuasit, quod undique loci naturā Helvētii continentur: unā ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvētium a Germānis dividit; alterā ex parte monte Iurā altissimo, qui est inter Sequānos et Helvētios; tertiā lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodāno, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvētiis dividit. His rebus fiebat, ut et minus late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent; quā ex parte

2. The manuscripts have **et** between the names of the consuls. and wrongly add **P.** as a praenomen to **Pisone**, but I omit these from the text for the reason given in the last note on the preceding page.

2. **consulibus**. This was the year 61 B. C. Both consuls (M. Valerius Messalla Niger and M. Pupius Piso) were men of some note. For details of their lives, see Appendix II. Caesar entered Gaul in the spring of 58 B. C.

5. **exirent**. For the plural verb with its subject supplied from the collective idea in **civitati**, see A. & S. 346 (1); A. & G. 205, c, 1; G. 211 (a); H. 461, 1.

5. **esse**. For the infinitive depending upon an implied verb of saying, see A. & S. 515 (2), in conjunction with 522; A. & G. 336, note 2; G. 650 in conjunction with 648, Remark 1; H. 523, I, note.

5. For **cum** in the sense of "since," "inasmuch as," see A. & S. 510 (2); A. & G. 326; G. 586; H. 517.

10. **altera**. Cf. note on **aliam**, page 7.

15. **parte**. It is instructive to compare this metaphorical use of **pars** (= from this side of things, from this point of view, in consequence of this, brooding over this) with the literal meaning of the word in lines 8 and 10 above.

homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore adficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloriā belli atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in
5 latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

III. His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetörigis permoti, constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinērent comparare, iumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coēmere, sementes quam
10 maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti sup-
peteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt; in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Orgetörix (dux) deligitur. Is le-
15 gationem ad civitates suscipit. In eo itinere persuādet Castīco, Catamantaloedis filio, Sequāno, cuius pater regnum in Sequānis multos annos obtinuerat et a senatu populi Romāni amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate suā occuparet, quod pater
20 ante habuerit; itemque Dumnörīgi Haeduo, fratri Diviciāci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuādet, eique filiam suam in matrimo-
nium dat. Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata

4, 5. **milia passuum . . . patebant.** The Roman mile was about 425 feet shorter than the English mile. Therefore these distances are in our measure a little more than 220 and 165 miles respectively.

14. For the reason given in the last note on page 8, the words **ad eas res conficiendas** have been omitted after **confirmant**, and the word **sibi** has been omitted after **Is**.

21. For what is known of Diviciacus (generally misspelled Divitiacus), see Appendix II.

24. **esse.** Cf. note on the same word, page 9.

24. **probat.** For the use of the present tense thus to denote an

perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvētii possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. Hac oratione adducti inter se fidem et ius iurandum dant, et regno occupato per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

IV. Ea res est Helvētiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus suis Orgetōrīgē ex vinculis causam dicere coëgerunt; damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. Die constitutā causae dictionis Orgetōrix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coëgit et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit; per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis ius suum exequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratūs cogerent, Orgetōrix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvētii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

attempted action (**probat** = he tries to show, tries to make them see, that), see A. & S. 464; A. & G. 276, *b*; G. 227, note 2; H. 467, 6.

6, 7. **tres . . . populos.** *I. e.* the Helvetii, Haedui, and Sequani. For information with regard to them, see Appendix I.

11. **Damnatum** agrees with a pronoun understood as object of **sequi**; **poenam sequi**, with **ut igni cremaretur** in apposition with **poenam**, is subject of **oportebat**. We may therefore translate, "if condemned, the punishment of being burned alive would have to be inflicted upon him."

13. **omnem suam familiam.** *I. e.* all the people so related to him by blood or otherwise that they acknowledged a certain allegiance to him.

20. **Mortuus est** is equivalent to "was found dead." Some authorities hold that Orgetorix killed himself in prison, but the

V. Post eius mortem nihilo minus Helvētīi id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi iam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duo-
 5 decim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt, frumentum omne, praeter quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublatā paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mensium molīta cibaria sibi quemque
 10 domo efferre iubent. Persuādent Raurācis et Tulingis et Latobrīgis finitimis, uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustis unā cum iis proficiscantur, Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Norīcum transierant Noreiamque oppugnant,
 15 receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

VI. Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequānos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodānum, vix quā singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissi-

better opinion seems to be that he never was in prison, but foreseeing that, in spite of his success in escaping the first trial, he was unlikely to succeed a second time, and that conviction and punishment were sure to follow, he chose to kill himself rather than suffer arrest again.

5. **Reliqua** does not belong with **aedificia** as an attributive adjective, but **privata aedificia** is in apposition with **reliqua**. The words thus mean "the rest, namely, their isolated buildings" (*i. e.* farms, etc.).

9. **molita**. From **molere**.

13. **incoluerant**. Caesar seems to have been unaware that the Tulingi and Latobrigi, though much nearer neighbors of the Helvetii, also lived **trans Rhenum**.] [For further details, see Appendix I.

14. **Noricum** corresponded to what is now southeastern Bavaria and northwestern Austria, including the Tyrol. Noreia, in its eastern part, was about 350 miles from the Helvetian boundary.

mus impendebat, ut facile perpauca prohibere possent: alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvētiorum et Allobrōgum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodānus fluit isque non nullis locis vado transitur. 5 Extremum oppidum Allobrōgum est proximumque Helvētiorum finibus Genāva. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvētios pertinet. Allobrōgibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romānum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos 10 fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectiōem comparatis diem dicunt, quā die ad ripam Rhodāni omnes conveniant. Is dies erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr. L. Pisōne, A. Gabīnio consulibus.

VII. Caesāri cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per pro- 15 vinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genāvam pervenit.

4. **nuper.** Three years before, namely 61 B. C., by the praetor C. Pomptinus. For what is known of him, see Appendix II., and for some account of the Allobroges, see Appendix I.

7. **Genava.** See map, C 7.

14. **consulibus.** The year 58 B. C. Piso was Caesar's father-in-law. For some account of him and of Gabinius, see Appendix II. The day according to the old Roman calendar, as given here, was, of course, March 28, but according to our calendar (introduced later by Caesar himself) it was April 16. Various apparent peculiarities of the seasons as indicated by the dates in the Gallic War will be understood better if the difference in the calendars be kept in mind.

16. **Ab urbe**, not **ex urbe**, because, although Caesar was attending to certain matters at Rome, the law compelled him, as a proconsul with the military power called **imperium**, to reside for the time being outside of the walls of the city. **Urbs** means Rome as a rule, unless the context makes it immediately evident that such is not the case.

Provinciae toti quam maximum pōtest militum numerum imperat, — erat omnino in Galliā ulteriore legio una, — pontem, qui erat ad Genāvam, iubet rescindi. Ubi de eius adventu Helvētīi certiores
 5 facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt nobilissimos civitatis, cuius legationis Nammeius et Verucloetius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare,
 10 ut eius voluntate id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoriā tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum exercitumque eius ab Helvētīis pulsum et sub iugum missum, concedendum non putabat; neque homines inimīco animo datā facultate per provinciam itineris
 15 faciundi temperaturos ab iniuriā et maleficio existimabat. Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites quos imperaverat convenirent, legatis respon-

1. **Provinciae.** *I. e.* the Roman province (the **provinciam nostram** of the first two lines of this chapter). Afterward called Gallia Narbonensis.

3. **legio una.** This was the famous "Tenth."

9. **Quod aliud iter haberent nullum** means "because OTHER road they *had* none." Though differences of type can mark but roughly the delicate shades of emphasis indicated by differences of order in a Latin clause, it is especially interesting to note in a clause of this kind the effect of changing the order. Thus, **quod nullum aliud iter haberent** may be approximately represented by "because *other* road they had NONE;" **quod nullum haberent aliud iter** by "because NO *other* road did they *have*;" **quod haberent nullum aliud iter** by "because they HAD *no other* road;" **quod iter aliud haberent nullum** by "because they *had no other* ROAD;" etc.

11. **Cassium.** This was in the year 107 B. C., during the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutoni. L. (Calpurnius) Piso Caesoninus, the grandfather of Caesar's father-in-law, was a lieutenant under Cassius, and fell in this battle, as we shall see in Ch. XII.

dit, diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum: si quid vellent, ad Id. Aprīl. reverterentur.

VIII. Interea eā legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex provinciā convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodānum influit, ad 5 montem Iuram, qui fines Sequānorum ab Helvētiis dividit, milia passuum XVIII, murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere 10 posset. Ubi ea dies, quam constituerat cum legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat se more et exemplo populi Romāni posse iter ulli per provinciam dare, et, si vim facere conentur, prohibitorium ostendit. Helvētii eā spe deiecti navibus iunctis 15 ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodāni, quā minima altitudo fluminis erat, non numquam interdium, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi hoc conatu destiterunt. 20

IX. Relinquebatur una per Sequānos via, quā Sequānis invitis propter angustias ire non poterant.

1. **Diem** = "time."

2. **Id. April.** *I. e.* April 13, or, by our reckoning, May 2.

5. **influit.** A rather odd expression, from our point of view, to indicate the outflow of the lake by means of the river.

7, 8. **murum . . . fossamque.** For an account of these fortifications, see Appendix IV.

12, 13. **More et exemplo** = custom and precedent. The two words of practically the same meaning are used to give the expression greater force.

15, 16. **Helvetii . . . alii** = "the great body of the Helvetii . . . others," etc.

18. **possent.** For this kind of indirect question see A. & S. 518, *d*; A. & G. 334, *f*; G. 460 (*b*); H. 529, II, 1, note 1.

His cum suā sponte persuādere non possent, legatos ad Dumnōrīgem Haeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a Sequānis impetrarent. Dumnōrix gratiā et largitione apud Sequānos plurimum poterat, et Hel-
 5 vētīs erat amicus, quod ex eā civitate Orgetōrīgis filiam in matrimonium duxerat; et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem suscipit, et a Sequānis impetrat, ut per
 10 fines suos Helvētios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit: Sequāni, ne itinere Helvētios prohibeant, Helvētii, ut sine maleficio et iniuriā transeant.

X. Caesāri nuntiatur, Helvētiis esse in animo per
 15 agrum Sequānorum et Haeduorum iter in Santōnūm fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosātium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provinciā. Id si fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romāni inimīcos, locis pa-
 20 tentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas ei munitioni, quam fecerat, T. Labiēnum legatum praeficit; ipse in Itāliam magnis iti-

1. **legatos.** Inasmuch as Dumnorix, although a powerful noble, was not an official personage, it is better to translate **legatos** by the collective expression "a delegation" than to use the term "ambassadors" here.

6. **filiam . . . duxerat.** Cf. Ch. III. (page 10).

15. **Santonum.** See map, D 3 and 4. The form is the old-fashioned genitive of the second declension. Cf. **Santonos**, end of Ch. XI. For a discussion of the somewhat long distance of the Santoni from the Roman province, see Appendix IV. Cf. also Appendix I.

16. **Tolosatium.** See map, E 4. Their chief town, **Tolōsa**, is the modern Toulouse.

21. For a brief biography of Labienus, see Appendix II.

22. **Italiam.** *I. e.* the part more commonly called Gallia Cisalpina at this time.

neribus contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit et, quā proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Ceutrōnes et Graiocēli et Caturīges locis 5 superioribus occupatis itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsīs ab Ocēlo, quod est (oppidum) citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervēnit; inde in Allobrōgum fines, ab Allobrōgibus 10 in Segusiāvōs exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodānum primi.

XI. Helvētīi iam per angustias et fines Sequānorum suas copias traduxerant et in Haeduum fines pervenerant eorumque agros populabantur. Haedui, 15 cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesārem mittunt rogatum auxilium: ita se omni tempore de populo Romāno meritos esse, ut paene in

2. **Aquileia** was founded by the Romans in 183–182 B. C. in the region called Venetia at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and quickly became a very prominent city.

3. **iter.** This route was by way of the modern city of Turin and over Mt. Genève. The road over Mt. Cenis is shorter, but its use dates back only to the time of Augustus.

4. **quinque legionibus.** These five legions were probably the seventh, eighth, and ninth (from the winter quarters near Aquileia), and the eleventh and twelfth (newly recruited), which, with the tenth, that was in farther Gaul, made Caesar an army of six legions. For the organization of the Roman army in Caesar's time, see Appendix III.

7. **Compluribus . . . pulsīs.** These four words are intertwined in a rhetorical fashion that finely illustrates the elasticity of word-order in Latin. Grammatically the first and third and the second and fourth belong together,—“having routed these in several battles.”

17. **omni tempore.** The Haedui had been called **socii populi Romani** as early as 121 B. C.

conspectu exercitūs nostri agri vastari, liberi in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. Eodem tempore Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Haeduum, Caesārem certiores faciunt, sese de-
 5 populatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. Item Allobrōges, qui trans Rhodānum vicos possessionesque habebant, fugā se ad Caesārem recipiunt, et demonstrant, sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non
 10 expectandum sibi statuit, dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santōnos Helvētii pervenirent.

XII. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Haeduum et Sequānorum in Rhodānum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat iudicari
 15 non possit. Id Helvētii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est, tres iam partes copiarum Helvētios id flumen traduxisse, quartam fere partem citra flumen Arārim reliquam esse, de tertiā vigiliā cum legionibus

1. I have omitted **eorum** after **liberi** here. See last note on page 8.

3. I have omitted **Haedui** after **tempore** here. See last note on page 8.

9. **reliqui**. For this partitive genitive, see A. & S. 355 (5); A. & G. 216, *a*, 1; G. 369, and Remark 2; H. 397, 3.

12. **Flumen est Arar**. The most exact English equivalent for this form of expression is perhaps, "There is a river called the Saône, which," etc.

12, 13. **per fines . . . influit**. Not as the boundary between the two peoples (that would be indicated by **praeter**, or **inter**, or by the verb **dividere**), but sometimes in the territory of one, sometimes in that of the other.

19. **De** in expressions of time properly means "from the beginning of," "in the early part of," and seems to be so used here, From this meaning it easily weakened into a simple "during."

19. **vigilia**. The night, reckoned from sunset to sunrise.

tribus e castris profectus, ad eam partem pervēnit, quae nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes adgressus, magnam partem eorum concidit; reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus: 5 nam omnis civitas Helvētia in quattuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoriā L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et eius exercitum sub iugum miserat. Ita sive casu sive consilio deorum immortalium, quae pars civitatis 10 Helvētiae insignem calamitatem populo Romāno intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Quā in re Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas iniurias ultus est, quod eius soceri L. Pisōnis avum, L. Pisōnem legatum, Tigurīni eodem proelio, quo 15 Cassium, interfecerant.

XIII. Hoc proelio facto reliquas copias Helvētiorum ut consequi posset, pontem, in Arāri faciendum

was divided into four **vigiliae** or watches. The third watch, therefore, always begins at twelve o'clock, though the length of each watch varies with the season of the year. Caesar started from his camp, therefore, soon after midnight.

6. **nam.** This Roman habit of adding to a statement a sort of indirect explanation of it, and introducing this simply by a word meaning "for," where, in English, "you see" or "you know" would be inserted, runs counter to our habit of thought, and arrests our attention rather unpleasantly until we become used to it.

6. **quattuor.** Another of the districts was called **Verbigenus**, as in Ch. XXVII., or, according to others, **Urbigenus**. The names of the other two have not come down to us.

8. **memoria.** That is, in 107 B. C. Cf. note on **Cassium**, page 14.

14. **soceri.** Piso's daughter Calpurnia was Caesar's last wife. He seems to have been married four times.

18. **in Arari.** From a slightly different point of view, the

curat atque ita exercitum traducit. Helvētīi repentinō eius adventu commoti cum id, quod ipsi diebus XX aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt;
 5 cuius legationis Divīco princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiāno dux Helvētiorum fuerat. Is ita cum Caesāre egit: si pacem populus Romānus cum Helvētiis faceret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvētios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset;
 10 set; sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romāni et pristinae virtutis Helvētiorum. Quod improvise unum pagum adortus esset, cum ii qui flumen transissent suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae
 15 magnopere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret. Se ita a patribus maioribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute contenderent quam dolo aut insidiis niterentur. Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romāni et interneccione
 20 exercitūs nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.

XIV. His Caesar ita respondit: eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvētīi commemorassent, memoriā teneret, atque eo gravius ferre, Romans spoke of building a bridge "in" or "upon" a river, where we say "over" one.

5, 6. **qui . . . fuerat.** A tolerably old man, therefore, by this time (58 B. C.).

8. **in eam partem ituros.** These words seem to imply, on the part of the Helvetii, a willingness to go only somewhere outside of their own country, not a readiness to return thither.

9. **Eos** is both object of **constituisset** (= "should locate," or, strictly, "should have located"), and subject of **esse**.

15. The common construction of **tribuere** with a direct object seems more natural to us than this use of the verb with an adverb, — **ne magnopere tribueret** = "let him not," or "he ought not to, set great store by."

quo minus merito populi Romāni accidissent; qui si alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellexeret, quare timeret, neque sine causā timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae obli- 5 visci vellet, num etiam recentium iniuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Haeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrōgas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod suā victoriā tam insolenter gloriarentur quodque tam diu se 10 impune iniurias intulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Cum ea 15 ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea quae polliceantur facturos intellegat, et si Haeduis de iniuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrōgibus satis faciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum. Divico respondit: ita Helvētios a maiori- 20 bus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare consuērint; eius rei populum Romānum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit.

1. **Qui** is the subject of **fuisse**, and, with **si**, is equivalent to "for if they."

9-11. **Quod . . . admirarentur.** Divico's remarks, as quoted by Caesar above, do not contain anything to which this clause is a direct answer. Caesar's words seem rather to refer to the spirit (and probably language) of the Helvetians in general as observed by himself.

21. A superficial glance might lead one to demand the order **accipere obsides, non dare**, but closer consideration shows the slightly different point of view of Caesar's emphasis — "as to hostages, it was their habit to receive, not to give them."

XV. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quattuor milium, quem ex omni provinciā et Haeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui
 5 videant quas in partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvētiorum proelium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo proelio sublati Helvētii, quod
 10 quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere non numquam, et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacescere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapīnis populationibusque prohibere. Ita dies circiter XV iter fecerunt, ūtī inter
 15 novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinque aut sex milibus passuum interesset.

XVI. Interim cotidie Caesar Haeduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare. Nam propter

1. **movent.** With a view to carrying out their plan in spite of Caesar.

4. Such expressions as **coactum habebat** show how the compound tenses of the active voice grew in English and other modern languages, but are not, of course, quite equivalent to those tenses. The expression here, for instance, conveyed to the Roman mind the form of idea that we can represent by "the cavalry which he had, having got it together from," etc.

10. **propulerant.** The Helvetians would seem to have had a right to be somewhat elated at having routed eight times their own number of cavalry, and, though Caesar naturally puts his defeat in a mild light, it must have had its influence on his policy and on the attitude of the Haeduans as described below.

13. **praesentia.** Notice that this word is the neuter acc. plural of the adj., not the abl. sing. of the fem. noun.

13. After **rapinis** I have omitted **pabulationibus**. Cf. last note on page 8.

18. **flagitare.** For this "historical" use of the infinitive, see A. & S. 530, *a*; A. & G. 275; G. 647; H. 536, 1.

frigora non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat; eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arări navibus subvexerat, propterea uti minus poterat, quod iter ab Arări Helvētīi averterant, a quibus discedere 5 nolebat. Diem ex die ducere Haedui: conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit, et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Diviciāco et 10 Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem vĕrgōbrĕtum appellant Haedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat, quod, cum neque emi neque ex agris sumi possit, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus 15 ab iis non sublevetur, praesertim cum magnā ex parte, eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit; multo etiam gravius quod sit destitutus queritur.

XVII. Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesāris adductus quod antea tacuerat proponit: esse non 20 nullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magis-

1. After *frigora* I have omitted the clause, *quod Gallia sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est*. Cf. last note on page 8.

6. *Diem* is not object of *ducere*, but an acc. of time, the phrase *diem ex die* being equivalent to "day after day." *Ducere* means "protract" or "delay" the matter in question.

6. *ducere*. For this "historical" use of the infinitive, see A. & S. 530, *a*; A. & G. 275; G. 647; H. 536, 1.

11. *vergobretum*. This is the Latinized form of the Celtic title "guerg breth," meaning "dispenser of justice."

18. *destitutus*. It was bad enough that they did not give him material support (cf. *sublevetur*), but still worse that they seemed to withdraw their friendship and moral support.

tratūs. Hos seditiosā atque imprōbā oratione multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum conferant quod debeant: praestare, si iam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallorū quam Romānorum 5 imperia perferre, neque dubitare debere, quin, si Helvētios superaverint Romāni, una cum reliquā Galliā Haeduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab isdem nostra consilia quaeque in castris gerantur hostibus enuntiari; hos a se coerceri non posse. Quin etiam
 10 quod necessariam rem coactus Caesāri enuntiarit, intellegere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam quam diu potuerit tacuisse.

XVIII. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnōrīgē, Diviciāci fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed quod pluribus praesentibus eas res iactari nolebat, celeriter
 15 concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet. Quaerit ex solo ea quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: ipsum esse Dumnōrīgē, summā audaciā,

3. **praestare.** Depending on the idea of saying implied in **deterrere**, "saying it was better to," or "it was better, they said, to," etc. Cf. note on **esse**, page 9.

9. **se.** It will be remembered that Liscus was chief magistrate of the Haedui. Cf. Ch. XVI. (page 23).

16. **Concilium** (from the same root as **clamare**) is a body of persons called together to listen to propositions and then vote, without taking an active part in the discussion; **consilium** (from same root as **consulere**) is a body of persons who deliberate upon measures, discuss, and then advise or decide upon them. It should be said, however, that this distinction was not always rigorously observed by the Roman writers.

19. **esse.** Caesar felt, before investigating them, that the statements made by Liscus were true; therefore, after investigation, he says, "he FINDS that they *are* true." If he had undertaken to investigate without any notion one way or the other but merely to discover the truth, he would have said **vera esse**, "(finds that) they are *true*."

19. "It was Dumnorix himself," *i. e.* "Dumnorix was the man."

magnā apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratiā, cupidum rerum novarum. Complures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Haeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo. His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse; magnum numerum equitatūs suo sumptu semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse, atque huius potentiae causā matrem in Biturīgibus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo conlocasse; ipsum ex Helvētiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates conlocasse. Favere et cupere Helvētiis propter eam adfinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine Caesārem et Romānos, quod eorum adventu potentia eius deminuta et Diviciācus frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romānis, summam in spem per Helvētios regni obtinendi venire; imperio populi Romāni non modo de regno, sed etiam de eā quam habeat gratiā desperare. Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium fugae factum a Dumnōrīge atque eius equi-

4. **redempta habere.** Cf. **coactum habebat**, Ch. XV., and the note on it. For some account of the subject of tax farming, see Appendix IV.

4, 5. **quod . . . nemo.** The order in this clause shows that it means "because when HE was bidding nobody *dared* BID AGAINST him." Cf. note on **quod . . . nullum**, page 14.

10. **Potentia** is the power one acquires by his own resources or character, one's "influence;" **potestas**, power bestowed by the laws or government, the power of office, "authority."

22. **quod proelium.** Lit. "as to what battle," *i. e.* "in regard to the cavalry battle which," etc.

24. I have omitted the word **eius** which stands after **initium** in the manuscripts. Cf. last note on page 8.

tibus, — nam equitatui, quem auxilio Caesări Haedui miserant, Dumnŏrix praeerat: eorum fugā reliquum esse equitatum perterritum.

XIX. Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspensiones certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequănorum Helvĕtios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo iniussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Haeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitratur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret aut civitatem animadvertere iuberet. His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat, quod Diviciăci fratris summum in populum Romănum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, iustitiam, temperantiam cognoverat; nam ne eius supplicio Diviciăci animum offenderet verebatur. Itaque prius quam quicquam conaretur, Diviciăcum ad se vocari iubet et cotidianis interpretibus remotis per C. Valĕrium Troucillum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo conloquitur; simul commonefacit, quae ipso praesente in concilio de Dumnŏrige sint dicta, et ostendit, quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit. Petit atque hortatur, ut sine eius offensione animi vel ipse de eo causă cognitā statuatur vel civitatem statuere iubeat.

XX. Diviciăcus multis cum lacrimis Caesărem complexus obsecrare coepit, ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex

19. Nothing further is known of this Troucillus, but the name occurs upon inscriptions relative to Gaul.

22. I have omitted **Gallorum** after **concilio**. Cf. last note on page 8.

29. The emphasis implied by the order **esse vera** may seem a

eo plus quam se doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse gratiā plurimum domi atque in reliquā Galliā, ille minimum propter adulescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem suam 5 uteretur. Sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei a Caesāre gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non suā voluntate factum; quā ex re futurum, uti totius 10 Galliae animi a se averterentur. Haec cum pluribus verbis flens a Caesāre peteret, Caesar eius dextram prendit; consolatus rogat, finem orandi faciat; tanti eius apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et rei publicae iniuriam et suum dolorem eius voluntati ac precibus 15 condonet. Dumnōrīgem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat ostendit; quae ipse intellegat, quae civitas queratur proponit; monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Diviciāco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnōrīgi 20 custodes ponit, ut quae agat, quibuscum loquatur scire possit.

XXI. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus

trifle unnatural, but it will be seen not to be so, if one translates "the accusations *were* true, he **KNEW**," etc. Cf. note on *esse*, page 24.

20. **dicit.** Those who regard Caesar as a tyrant and arrant hypocrite say that he here pretends to do out of regard for Diviciacus what he really did only from policy, because Dumnorix was so powerful. It is, of course, not to be supposed that Caesar's action was due to a purely sentimental attachment to Diviciacus, — he does not himself hint that it was, — but it is not just to exaggerate the less disinterested of the two motives, or to leave the other altogether out of sight in forming one's opinion in the matter.

hostes sub monte consedissee milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent misit. Renuntiatum est facilem esse. De tertiā vigiliā T. Labiēnum, 5 legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus et iis ducibus qui iter cognoverant, summum iugum montis ascendere iubet; quid sui consilii sit ostendit. Ipse de quartā vigiliā eodem itinere quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. 10 P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

XXII. Primā luce, cum summus mons a Labiēno teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille 15 et quingentis passibus abesset neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut Labiēni cognitus esset, Considius equo admisso ad eum accurrit, dicit montem, quem a Labiēno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri: id se a Gallicis armis atque in 20 signibus cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labiēnus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesāre, ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte 25 occupato nostros expectabat proelioque abstinebat.

3. *ascensus.* *I. e.* to see how much of an undertaking it would be to make a détour and ascend this hill.

4. *De . . . vigilia.* See notes on *de* and *vigilia*, page 18.

5. *legatum pro praetore.* See Appendix IV.

8. *quarta.* *I. e.* soon after two o'clock in the morning in that latitude at that season of the year.

10. Nothing more than what Caesar here says of Considius is known of him.

13. The manuscripts have **Lucio** before **Labieno**, an evident blunder.

Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit, et montem a suis teneri et Helvētios castra movisse et Considium timore perterritum quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiavisse. Eo die quo consuērat intervallo hostes sequitur et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

XXIII. Postridie eius diei, quod omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Haeduum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit; (itaque) iter ab Helvētiis avertit ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemīlii decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. Helvētii, seu quod timore perterritos Romānos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie superioribus locis occupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo, quod re frumentariā intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso, nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

XXIV. Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subduxit equitatumque, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum

9. **Bibracte.** See map, C 5. This city of Bibracte is the modern Autun, and not to be confounded with Bibrax mentioned in Book II., Ch. VI.

13. **fugitivos.** Not, apparently, deserters (that would be **transfugas** or **perfugas**), but slaves who had come to camp with their masters, and now ran away to the enemy.

13. **Aemili.** Nothing more is known of this Aemilius.

14. **equitum.** For an account of the cavalry in the Roman army, see Appendix III.

25. **aciem.** For an account of this formation, see Appendix III.

quattuor veteranarum, in summo iugo duas legiones, quas in Galliā citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia conlocari, sarcinas in unum locum conferri, et eum ab iis qui in superiore acie constiterant
 5 muniri iussit. Helvētii cum omnibus suis carris secuti impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; ipsi confertissimā acie reiecto nostro equitatu, phalange factā, sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

XXV. Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex con-
 10 spectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites e loco superiore pilis missis facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. Eā disiectā, gladiis destrictis in eos impetum fecerunt. Gallis magno
 15 ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et conligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinistrā impeditā satis commode pugnare poterant, multi ut, diu iactato brachio, praeoptarent scutum manu emit-
 20 tere et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi, et pedem referre et, quod mons aberat circiter mille passūs, eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto monte et succedentibus nostris, Boi et Tulingi, qui homi-

1. I have omitted *ita ut supra se* after *veteranarum*. Cf. last note on page 8.

1. *duas legiones*. The eleventh and twelfth. Cf. note on *quinque legionibus*, page 17.

3. I have omitted *ac totum montem hominibus compleri et interea* after *conlocari*. Cf. last note on page 8.

7. *phalange*. For an account of the phalanx, see Appendix III.

10. *omnium*. This refers, of course, to his officers and other mounted men of his staff, not to the cavalry itself.

21. *pedem referre*. Notice that this expression is not *terga vertere*. They do not fly, but draw back in good order.

23. *Tulingi*. See Appendix I.

num milibus circiter XV agmen hostium claudebant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros (ab) latere aperto adgressi circumvenire, et id conspicati Helvētii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romāni 15 conversa signa bipertito intulerunt : prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac submotis resisteret, tertia, ut venientes sustineret.

XXVI. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impe- 10 tūs non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab horā septimā ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad 15 impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros obiecerant et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coiciebant et non nulli inter carros rae- dasque matāras ac tragulas subiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis 20 castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetōrigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia CXXX superfuerunt eāque totā nocte continenter ierunt; in fines Lingōnum die quarto

9. **ancipiti**. This word has here its literal meaning of "two-headed," "facing two ways."

13, 14. **hora septima**. This was about one o'clock at that season of the year in that latitude.

18. The **carrus** was a two-wheeled baggage-wagon; the **raeda** a four-wheeled conveyance, used especially for transporting the women and children.

19. **Matara** was rather a heavy broad-headed spear; **tragula**, a light javelin, hurled by means of a strap attached to it.

24. I have omitted **nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso** after **ierunt**. Cf. last note on page 8.

pervenerunt, cum et propter vulnera militum et propter sepulturam occisorum nostri eos sequi non potuissent. Caesar ad Lingōnas litteras nuntiosque misit, ne eos frumento neve aliā re iuvarent : qui si iuvis-
 5 sent, se eodem loco quo Helvētios habiturum. Ipse triduo intermisso cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

XXVII. Helvētii omnium rerum inopiā adducti legatos de deditioe ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere convenissent seque ad pedes proiecissent
 10 suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum expectare iussisset, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervēnit, obsides, arma, servos qui ad eos perfugissent poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, cir-
 15 citer hominum milia VI eius pagi qui Verbigēnus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne armis traditis supplicio adficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tantā multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent,
 20 primā nocte e castris Helvētiorum egressi ad Rhenum finesque Germānorum contenderunt.

2. I have omitted **triduum morati** after **nostri**. Cf. last note on page 8.

3. **Lingonas**. See map, B 6. Their chief town was called **Andomatunum** or **Andematunnum**, and occupied the site of the modern Langres.

10. **flentes**. We of the more phlegmatic northern nations are sometimes struck with the frequent weeping spoken of in the classics as indulged in by men, and brave men, too, not only among the barbarians, but among the Romans themselves. When inclined to sneer at this as weakness, we ought to remember the impulsiveness of the southern peoples and not judge them too strictly by ourselves.

14. I have omitted **nocte intermissa** after **conferuntur**. Cf. last note on page 8.

15. **Verbigenus**. Cf. note on **quattuor**, page 19.

XXVIII. Quod ubi Caesar rescit, quorum per fines ierant, his uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit; reductos in hostium numero habuit; reliquos omnes obsidibus armis, perfugis traditis in deditionem accepit. Hel- 5 vêtios, Tulingos, Latobrīgos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti iussit, et quod omnibus frugibus amissis domi nihil erat, quo famem tolerarent, Allobrōgibus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent; ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere 10 iussit. Id eā maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum, unde Helvētii discesserant, vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germāni, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, (ex) suis finibus in Helvētiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrōgibusque 15 essent. Boios petentibus Haeduis, quod egregiā virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis conlocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea

4. **habuit.** *I. e.* had them killed.

6. For some reason the **Rauraci**, who are named with the others in Ch. V., are not accounted for here. They could not have been all destroyed, for they appear later as living in the neighborhood of the modern Bâle in Switzerland.

8. **tolerarent.** *I. e.* by removing it. This sort of overcharged construction, by which more is implied than the words used express when taken separately, is very common in Latin, and is one of the things that make the ability to understand the language without translating so valuable.

15. **Allobrogibus.** For some account of this people, see Appendix I. They had been added to the Roman province but recently, and therefore it was especially undesirable to have warlike and independent foreign tribes settle next to them.

18. **postea.** They are described in Book VII., Chs. IX. and X., as still dependent on the Haedui, and they probably became independent as a reward for their faithful service in the war against Vercingetorix in 52 B. C. This circumstance furnishes

in parem iuris libertatisque condicionem atque ipsi erant receperunt.

XXIX. In castris Helvētiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae et ad Caesārem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim, (quot) pueri, senes mulieresque. Summa erat capitum Helvētiorum milium CCLXIII, Tulingorum milium XXXVI, Latobrīgorum XIII, Raurācorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII; ex his qui arma ferre possent ad milia nonaginta duo. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium C et X.

XXX. Bello Helvētiorum confecto totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesārem gratulatum convenerunt: intellegere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvētiorum iniuriis populi Romāni ab his poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu Galliae quam populi Romāni accidisse, propterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus domos suas

one of the reasons for believing that Caesar did not write his Gallic War before the winter of 52-51 B. C.

4. **Graecis.** But in the Celtic language, of course. That had no alphabet of its own.

7. **et.** Notice that this **et** connects **relatae** with **repertae**, not with **confectae**.

7. I have omitted the words **quarum omnium rerum** after **mulieresque**. Cf. last note on page 8.

20. I have omitted **terrae** after **usu**. Cf. last note on page 8.

20. **Galliae.** *I. e.* of Gaul proper, not including the Belgae and Aquitani.

21. **florentissimis.** There is no real contradiction, as some editors think, between this epithet and what is said of the Helvetii in Ch. II. The Helvetii made no claim to a lack of complete material prosperity; they were simply discontented with

Helvētīi reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent imperioque potirentur locumque domicilio ex magnā copiā deligerent, quem ex omni Galliā oportu-
nissimum ac fructuosissimum iudicassent, reliquas-
que civitates stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt, uti 5
sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam indicere
idque Caesāris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere
quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere
vellent. Eā re permissā diem concilio constituerunt
et iureiurando ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus com- 10
muni consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

XXXI. Eo concilio dimisso īdem principes civi-
tatum, qui ante fuerant, ad Caesārem reverterunt
petieruntque, uti sibi secreto de suā omniumque
salute cum eo agere liceret. Eā re impetratā sese 15
omnes flentes Caesāri ad pedes proiecerunt: non
minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea quae dixis-
sent enuntiarentur, quam uti ea quae vellent impe-
trarent, propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum
in cruciatum se venturos viderent. Locutus est pro 20
his Diviciācus Haeduus: Galliae totius factiones esse
duas; harum alterius principatum tenere Haeduos,
the narrowness of their quarters and vexed by the geographical
difficulty of making war on their neighbors. Furthermore, **flo-**
rentissimis does not express the feelings of the Helvetii, but
those of the other Gallic tribes.

12. **īdem**. Notice that this is the *plural* nominative, occasion-
ally found instead of the usual **īdem**.

13. **qui ante fuerant**. One of those little turns of expression
so unexpectedly like the English that the attentive student always
greeted them with delight.

14. I have omitted the words **in occulto** after **secreto**. Cf.
last note on page 8.

17. **dixissent**. This form represents, of course, a future per-
fect — “what they should have said,” or, better, “what they
were going to say.”

alterius Arvernos. Hi cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse, uti ab Arvernīs Sequānisque Germāni mercede arcesse-
 5 transisse; postea quam agros et cultum et copias Gal-
 lorum homines ferī ac barbari adamassent, traductos
 plures; nunc esse in Galliā ad C et XX milium nu-
 merum. Cum his Haeduos eorumque clientes semel
 atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamita-
 10 tem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem se-
 natum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus proeliis
 calamitatibusque fractos, qui et suā virtute et populi
 Romāni hospitio atque amicitia plurimum ante in
 Galliā potuissent, coactos esse Sequānis obsides dare
 15 nobilissimos civitatis et iure iurando civitatem obstrin-
 gere, sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium a
 populo Romāno imploratuos neque recusatuos, quo
 minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione atque imperio
 essent. Unum se esse ex omni civitate Haeduorum,
 20 qui adduci non potuerit, ut iuraret aut liberos suos
 obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse
 et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum,
 quod solus neque iure iurando neque obsidibus tene-
 retur. Sed peius victoribus Sequānis quam Haeduis
 25 victis accidisse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germā-

11. **omnem . . . amisisse.** A kind of exaggeration common not only to the impetuous southern races, but to most excitable natures when they have a point to urge, and not to be too complacently stigmatized by the colder-blooded.

18. **dicione atque imperio.** A combination of two practically equivalent words like the expression, **more et exemplo**, noted on page 15.

25. **Ariovistus.** Little or nothing further than what Caesar tells us is known of this vigorous German warrior, except that he probably belonged to the tribe called Suebi and lived in the region that is now Baden.

norum, in eorum finibus consedisset tertiamque par-
 tem agri Sequāni, qui esset optimus totius Galliae,
 occupavisset et nunc de alterā parte tertiā Sequānos
 decedere iuberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante
 Harūdum milia hominum XXIII ad eum venissent, 5
 quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse pau-
 cis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur
 atque omnes Germāni Rhenum transirent; neque
 enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germānorum
 agro neque hanc consuetudinem victūs cum illā com- 10
 parandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum
 copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad
 Magetobrigam superbe et crudeliter imperare, ob-
 sides nobilissimi cuiusque liberos poscere et in eos
 omnia exempla cruciatūsque edere, si qua res non ad 15
 nutum aut ad voluntatem eius facta sit. Hominem
 esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse
 eius imperia diutius sustineri. Nisi quid in Caesāre
 populoque Romāno sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem
 esse faciendum, quod Helvētii fecerint, ut domo emi- 20
 grent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Ger-
 mānis, petant fortunamque, quaecumque accadat, ex-
 periantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non
 dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus qui apud eum
 sint gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesārem vel 25
 auctoritate suā atque exercitūs vel recentī victoriā vel

5. **Harūdum.** See map, C 6. Nothing else definite is known
 of these people.

10. **neque . . . comparandam.** That is, the Gallic terri-
 tory was so much more fertile and the Gallic style of life so much
 more civilized than the German, that no one, after becoming
 acquainted with the former, would be content with the latter,
 not even the Germans themselves.

13. **Magetobrigam.** See map, C 6. The position and even
 the name of this place are disputed points.

nomine populi Romāni deterrere posse, ne maior multitudo Germānorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti iniuriā posse defendere.

XXXII. Hac oratione ab Diviciāco habitā omnes
 5 qui aderant magno fletu auxilium a Caesāre petere coeperunt. Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequānos nihil earum rerum facere, quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes capite demisso terram intueri. Eius rei quae causa esset miratus ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil
 10 Sequāni respondere, sed in eādē tristitiā taciti permanere. Cum ab his saepius quaereret neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idē Diviciācus Haeduuus respondit: hoc esse miseriorem et gravio-
 15 rem fortunam Sequānorum quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare
 20 auderent, absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent, propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequānis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate eius essent, omnes cruciatūs essent
 25 perferendi.

XXXIII. His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit pollicitusque est, sibi eam rem curae futuram; magnam se habere spem, et bene-
 25 ficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem iniuriis facturum. Hac oratione habitā concilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret, in primis quod Haeduos fratres
 30 consanguineosque saepe numero a senatu appellatos

30. **consanguineos.** This may have rested originally upon the claim made by the Haedui (but also by the Arverni) to a descent from the Trojans. Tacitus and Cicero both allude to the recognition by the Romans of the consanguinity of the Haedui.

in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germānorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequānos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romāni turpissimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germānos consuescere 5 Rhenum transire, et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire, populo Romāno periculosum videbat, neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutōnique fecissent, 10 in provinciam exirent atque inde in Itāliam contenderent; quibus rebus quam maturrime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur. 15

XXXIV. Quam ob rem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti aliquem locum medium utriusque conloquio deligeret: velle sese de re publicā et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: 20 si quid ipsi a Caesāre opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque moli- 25 mento in unum locum contrahere posse. Sibi autem mirum videri, quid in suā Galliā, quam bello vicisset, aut Caesāri aut omnino populo Romāno negoti esset.

10. **Cimbri . . . fecissent.** The wars with these invaders lasted from 113 B. C. to 101 B. C., when they were finally crushed and annihilated by Marius.

11. I have omitted the words **praesertim cum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret** after **contenderent**. Cf. last note on page 8.

XXXV. His responsis ad Caesārem relatis iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: quoniam tanto suo populiue Romāni beneficio adfectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu
 5 appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque Romāno gratiam referret, ut in conloquium venire invitatus gravaretur neque de communi re discendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret, haec esse, quae ab eo postulare: primum ne quam multitudinem hominum am-
 10 plius trans Rhenum in Galliam traduceret; deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Haeduis, redderet Sequānisque permetteret, ut, quos illi haberent, voluntate eius reddere illis liceret; neve Haeduos iniuriā lacesseret neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret.
 15 Si ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romāno perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram; si non impetraret, sese, quoniam M. Messallā, M. Pisōne consulibus senatus censuisset, uti quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo rei publicae facere posset, Haeduos ceterosque amicos populi
 20 Romāni defenderet, se Haeduorum iniurias non neglecturum.

XXXVI. Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: ius esse belli, ut qui vicissent, iis quos vicissent quem ad
 25 modum vellent imperarent. Item populum Romā-

5. **appellatus esset.** As Ariovistus knew, and as, of course, Caesar would have admitted, the practical value of these kindnesses was microscopic; but then, has not this style of talking always been the regular thing in both public and private diplomacy the world over?

13. **illis.** To be taken with **reddere** and referring to the **Haedui**.

15. I have omitted **id** after **Si**. Cf. last note on page 8.

18. **consulibus.** *I. e.* in 61 B. C. Cf. Ch. II.

19. **quod.** Lit. "as to what," *i. e.* "so far as."

num victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium imperare consuesse. Si ipse populo Romāno non praescriberet, quem ad modum suo iure uteretur, non oportere se a populo Romāno in suo iure impediri. Haeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam 5 temptassent et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesārem iniuriam facere, qui suo adventu vectīgalia sibi deteriora faceret. Haeduis se obsides redditurum non esse neque his neque eorum sociis iniuriā bellum inlatu- 10 rum, si in eo manerent, quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis pendērent; si id non fecissent, longe iis fraternum nomen populi Romāni afuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret, se Haeduorum iniurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine suā perniciē con- 15 tendisse. Cum vellet, congregaretur: intellecturum, quid invicti Germāni, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIII tectum non subissent, virtute possent.

XXXVII. Haec eodem tempore Caesāri mandata 20 referebantur et legati ab Haeduis et a Trevēris veniebant: Haedui questum, quod Harūdes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum populerentur: sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse; Trevēri autem, pagos cen- 25

12, 13. **longe . . . afuturum.** A picturesque way of saying that the Roman alliance would prove of little assistance to them.

18. **subissent.** Not, of course, necessarily all the time in Gaul.

19. **possent.** It must be admitted that Ariovistus had the best of the discussion, and that the Romans could really justify their attack upon him on no higher grounds than those of a purely selfish public expediency.

21. **Treveris.** See map, B 7. For some account of the nation, see Appendix I.

tum Sueborum ad ripas Rheni consedissee, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; his praeesse Nasuam et Cimmerium fratres. Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova
 5 manus Sueborum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese coniunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re frumentariā quam celerrime potuit comparatā, magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

XXXVIII. Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequānorum, contendere. Id ne accideret, magnopere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium rerum, quae ad bellum usui erant,
 15 summa erat in eo oppido facultas, idemque naturā loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen Dubis ut circūno circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit, reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum DC,
 20 qua flumen intermittit, mons continet magnā altitudine, ita ut radices eius montis ex utrāque parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et cum oppido coniungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit occupatoque oppido ibi praesidium conlocat.

XXXIX. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae com meatūsque causā moratur, ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac merca-

1. **Sueborum.** See map, B 8 and 9. For an account of them, cf. Book IV., Ch. I., and see Appendix I.

11. **Vesontionem.** See map, C 6. The modern name of the town is Besançon.

12. I have omitted **triduique viam a suis finibus processisse** after **contendere**. Cf. last note on page 8.

torum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germānos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant, — saepe numero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse, — tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui ex urbe amicitiae causā Caesārem secuti non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius aliā causā inlatā, 10 quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat, ut eius voluntate discedere liceret; non nulli pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut 15 suum fatum querebantur aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Horum vocibus

3. **congressos.** This word refers more particularly to Galli above, who had met the Germans in battle, but may not inappropriately be understood as applying also to the traders, who had perhaps found something of the same qualities flashing out in the Germans when they suspected that they were the victims of commercial sharp practice.

7. **tribunis.** For some account of these officers, see the description of the Roman army organization, Appendix III., OFFICERS.

8. **amicitiae causa.** This expression is sometimes seized upon as an example of Caesar's habit of putting things in an exaggeratedly flattering way to himself, but there seems to be no reason for seeing in the words anything more than the customary characterization of the class of persons mentioned. It had become quite the regular thing for military commanders to be so accompanied.

17. I have omitted the words **vulgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur** after **miserabantur**. Cf. last note on page 8.

ac timore paulatim etiam ii qui magnum in castris
 usum habebant, milites centurionesque quique equi-
 tatui praeerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus
 timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed
 5 angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum, quae
 intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem
 frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset,
 timere dicebant. Non nulli etiam Caesāri nuntia-
 bant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri iussisset, non
 10 fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem
 signa laturos.

XL. Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio
 omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis cen-
 turionibus, vehementer eos incusavit : primum, quod
 15 aut quam in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur sibi
 quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum
 se consule cupidissime populi Romāni amicitiam
 adpetisse ; cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio
 discessurum iudicaret ? Sibi quidem persuāderi cog-
 20 nitis suis postulatis atque aequitate condicionum per-
 spectā eum neque suam neque populi Romāni gratiam
 repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentīā impul-
 sus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur ? Aut
 cur de suā virtute aut de ipsius diligentīā despera-

8. **Etiam** points forward here as ordinarily — “even carried word to Caesar.”

13. The assembly here spoken of was not the ordinary **consilium** (council of war), which consisted of the **legati** and **tribuni**, with the centurions of the first rank (**primorum ordinum centuriones**. Cf. Appendix III., OFFICERS). As there were sixty centurions in a legion and six legions in Caesar’s army at this time, it will be seen that the assembled body was a good-sized one.

24. **ipsius**. Used because **sua** had already been employed to refer to the subject of the sentence. Taken in connection with

rent? Factum eius hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoriā, cum Cimbris et Teutōnis a C. Mario pulsus non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur; factum etiam nuper in Itāliā servīli tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac 5 disciplina, quam a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo iudicari posse, quantum haberet in se boni constantia, propterea quod, quos aliquamdiu inermes sine causā timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem Germānos, 10 quibuscum saepe numero Helvētīi congressi non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quaererent, reperire posse 15 diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes iam de pugnā et dispersos subito adortum magis ratione et consilio quam virtute vicisse. Cui rationi contra homines 20 barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitūs capi posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itineris conferrent, facere arroganter, cum

the various forms of **se** or **suus** previously appearing in the chapter, these two words brilliantly illustrate the effectiveness with which Caesar, to the occasional despair of the modern grammarian, uses the pronoun which designates most clearly the persons in mind.

3. **pulsis**. In 102–101 B. C.

5. **tumultu**. The war raised in 73–71 B. C. by Spartacus and the gladiators, who were largely German captives reduced to slavery.

5. **quos**. Referring to the idea of soldiers implied in **servili tumultu**.

aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequānos, Leucos, Lingōnes subministrare, iamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere ipsos
 5 brevi tempore iudicatuos. Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa latuū dicantur, nihil se eā re commoveri: scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gestā fortunam defuisse aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse
 10 convictam. Suam innocentiam perpetuā vitā, felicitatem Helvētiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se, quod in longiorem diem conlaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum et proximā nocte de quartā vigiliā castra moturum, ut quam primum intellegere posset, utrum
 15 apud eos pudor atque officium an timor plus valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum solā decimā legione iturum, de quā non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram. Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue et propter virtutem
 20 confidebat maxime.

XLI. Hac oratione habitā mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi inlata est, princepsque X. legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de
 25 se optimum iudicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt, uti Caesāri satisfacerent: se neque umquam dubitasse neque timuisse neque de summā belli suum iudicium, sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione acceptā et itinere exquisito per Diviciācum, quod

13. *vigilia*. Soon after two o'clock in the morning. Cf. note on the same word, page 18.

ex Gallis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quartā vigiliā, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est Ariovisti copias a nostris 5 milia passuum IIII et XX abesse.

XLII. Cognito Caesāris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: quod antea de conloquio postu-
lasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius acces-
sisset seque id sine periculo facere posse existimaret. 10
Non respuit condicionem Caesar iamque eum ad
sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea
petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur, magnamque in
spem veniebat, pro suis tantis populique Romāni
in eum beneficiis cognitis suis postulatis fore, uti 15
pertinaciā desisteret. Dies conloquio dictus est ex
eo die quintus. Interim saepe cum legati ultro citro-
que inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne
quem peditem ad conloquium Caesar adduceret:
vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur; 20
uterque cum equitatu veniret: aliā ratione sese non
esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque conloquium in-
terpositā causā tolli volebat neque salutem suam
Gallorum equitatu committere audebat, commodis-
simum esse statuit, omnibus equis Gallis equitibus 25
detractis eo legionarios milites legionis X. imponere,

1-3. *ut . . . duceret.* This clause is commonly taken as explaining *itinere exquisito* and meaning "that [the road] would lead the army," etc., but it seems to me much more likely that Caesar is the subject of *duceret*, and that the clause points forward instead of back. In that case it means, "[started soon after two o'clock, as he had said he would do] with a view to leading his army," etc.

26. I have omitted the words *cui quam maxime confidebat* before *imponere*. Cf. last note on page 8.

ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. Quod cum fieret, non inridicule quidam ex militibus X. legionis dixit: plus quam pollicitus esset Caesārem facere: pollicitum se in
5 cohortis praetoriae loco X. legionem habiturum ad equum rescribere.

XLIII. Planities erat magna et in eā tumulus terrenus, satis grandis. Hic locus aequum fere spatium a castris Ariovisti et Caesāris aberat. Eo, ut erat
10 dictum, ad colloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, passibus CC ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus ex equis ut conloquerentur et praeter se denos ad colloquium adducerent postu-
15 lavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatūsque in eum beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui doce-
20 bat; illum, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate suā ac senatūs ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam, quam veteres quamque iustae causae necessitudinis ipsis cum Haeduis intercederent, quae senatūs con-
25 sulta quotiens quamque honorifica in eos facta essent,

5, 6. **ad equum rescribere.** "Enrolled them among the riders," a play upon the double meaning of **equites** as "cavalry" when military things are spoken of, and as "knights" when the different classes of citizens are thought of.

11. **Devexerat**, with **equis** as ablative of instrument, means "had brought down [from his camp] on horseback." The compound verb is used either because the camp is thought of as on slightly higher ground, or with the same feeling with which one sometimes speaks of going down from the capital to the provinces.

24. **ipsis.** *I. e.* the Romans.

ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Haedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam adpetissent. Populi Romāni hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratiā, dignitate, honore auctiores vellet esse; 15 quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romāni attulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem, quae legatis in mandatis dederat: ne aut Haeduis aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germānorum domum 10 remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

XLIV. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesāris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: transisse Rhenum sese non suā sponte, sed rogatum et 15 arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magnā spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Galliā ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere iure belli, quod victores victis imponere consuērint. Non sese Gallis, 20 sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse: omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, ini- 25 quum esse de stipendio recusare, quod suā voluntate ad id tempus pependerit. Amicitiam populi Romāni sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere atque se hac spe petisse. Si per populum Romānum stipendium remittatur et dediticii 30 subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romāni amicitiam quam adpetierit. Quod

1. *ut*. Notice that this is an indirect question, *ut* meaning "how."

multitudinem Germānorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliae oppugnandae causā facere; eius rei testimonium esse, quod nisi rogatus non venerit et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defendit. Se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romānum. Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romāni Galliae provinciae finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet? Cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo iure se interpellaremus. Quod fratres a senatu Haeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum proximo Haeduos Romānis auxilium tulisse neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Haedui secum et cum Sequānis habuissent, auxilio populi Romāni usos esse. Debere se suspicari simulatā Caesārem amicitiaē quem exercitum in Galliā habeat sui opprimendi causā habere. Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed pro hoste habiturum. Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romāni gratum esse facturum, — id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, — quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte re-

8, 9. **Sibi** refers, of course, to Caesar, **suas** (and **suam**) to Ariovistus.

9. **Provinciam suam**. Notice how much finer this emphasis is than if he had said **suam provinciam**.

15. **proximo**. The disturbances of 61 B. C. Cf. note on **nuper**, page 13.

23, 24. **nobilibus . . . gratum**. Cicero's letters contain various interesting allusions to the machinations of Caesar's enemies at Rome.

dimere posset. Quod si decessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum et quaecumque bella geri vellet, sine ullo eius labore et periculo confecturum.

XLV. Multa a Caesare in eam sententiam dicta ⁵ sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset: neque suam neque populi Romāni consuetudinem pati, uti optime meritos socios desereret, neque se iudicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti quam populi Romāni. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutēnos a Q. Fabio Ma-¹⁰ xīmo, quibus populus Romānus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset neque stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romāni iustissimum esse in Galliā imperium; si iudicium senatūs observari oporteret,¹⁵ liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

XLVI. Dum haec in conloquio geruntur, Caesāri nuntiatum est, equites Ariovisti propius tumultum accedere et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in ²⁰ nostros coicere. Caesar loquendi finem fecit seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes reicerent. Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut pulsus ²⁵ hostibus dici posset, eos ab se per fidem in conloquio circumventos. Postea quam in vulgus militum ela-

1-4. This sentence, coming after the spirited and even violent language of Ariovistus, is the key to his real state of mind as to the probable result of a collision with the Romans, and as to the situation as a whole.

10. **Maximo.** This was in 121 B. C. For the position of the Arverni and Ruteni, see map, D 5. For some account of Fabius, see Appendix II.

13. **Quod si.** "As to which if," practically equivalent to, "It would appear, therefore, that if."

tum est, quā arrogantiā in conloquio Ariovistus usus omni Galliā Romānis interdixisset, impetumque (ut) in nostros eius equites fecissent, eaque res conloquium diremisset, multo maior alacritas studiumque pug-
5 nandi maius exercitui iniectum est.

XLVII. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesārem legatos misit: velle se de iis rebus, quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum conloquio diem constitueret aut, si id minus vellet,
10 ex suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Conloquendi Caesāri causa visa non est, et eo magis, quod pridie eius diei Germāni retineri non potuerant, quin tela in nostros coicerent. Legatum sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris obiecturum ex-
15 istimabat. Commodissimum visum est, C. Valērium Procillum, C. Valēri Cabūri filium, summā virtute et humanitate adulescentem, cuius pater a C. Valērio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, quā multā iam Ario-
20 vistus longinquā consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germānis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et una M. Metium, qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur.

13. I have omitted **ex suis** after **Legatum**. Cf. last note on page 8.

16. **Cabūri**. The quantity marked in this name is only a matter of probability, nor is anything further known of its bearer than is here indicated. The Gaius Valerius Flaccus, by whom his father had been given Roman citizenship, and whose name the Gallic family had therefore, according to regular custom, adopted, was governor (as praetor or as propraetor) of the Gallic province in 83 B. C.

19. **multa**. In English, an adverb modifying the verb would be used instead of this adjective agreeing with the pronoun.

22. The name of this Metius appears on certain coins as a man appointed by Caesar, when he was master of the Roman world, to superintend the coining of money.

22. **hospitio**. This right of hospitality or guest-friendship had

His mandavit, ut quae diceret Ariovistus cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: quid ad se venirent? An speculandi causā? Conantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas coniecit. 5

XLVIII. Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum VI a Caesāris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie eius diei praeter castra Caesāris suas copias traduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit eo consilio, uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex 10 Sequānis et Haeduis supportaretur, Caesārem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos V Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exerci- 15 tum castris continuit, equestri proelio cotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germāni exercuerant: equitum milia erant VI, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copiā singuli singulos suae salutis causā delegerant: 20 cum his in proeliis versabantur, ad eos se equites recipiebant; hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant, si qui graviore vulnere accepto equo deciderat, circumstebant; si quo erat longius prodeundum aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione 25 celeritas, ut iubis sublevati equorum cursum adaequarent.

in the ancient world a sort of official character, and implied a closeness of relation quite beyond what is indicated by the English words "guest" and "hospitality." The relation was handed down from father to son, and in early times was typified by a piece of pottery (called by the Romans *tessera hospitalis*), broken into two parts, of which one was given to each of the two people who entered into the relation.

26. *adaequarent*. Tacitus mentions this method of fighting

XLIX. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germāni consederant, circiter passus DC ab his, castris idoneum locum delegit
 5 acieque triplici instructā ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire iussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus DC, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum XVI milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus
 10 misit, quae copiae nostros terrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo setius Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere iussit. Munitis castris duas ibi legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum, quattuor reliquas in
 15 castra maiora reduxit.

L. Proximo die instituto suo Caesar ex castris utrisque copias suas eduxit paulumque a maioribus castris progressus aciem instruxit hostibusque pugnandi potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos
 20 prodire intellexit, circiter meridie exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. Acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus multis et inlatis
 25 et acceptis vulneribus in castra reduxit. Cum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quam ob rem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germānos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres fami-

in the Germania, Ch. VI. Other nations than the Germans also practiced it.

5. *acieque triplici.* Cf. Appendix III., ORDER OF BATTLE.

6, 7. *castra munire.* For a description of the Roman camp, see Appendix III., THE FORTIFIED CAMP.

liae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne; eas ita dicere: non esse fas Germānos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.

LI. Postridie eius diei Caesar praesidio utrisque 5 castris quod satis esse visum est reliquit, alarios omnes in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse triplici instructā acie usque 10 ad castra hostium accessit. Tum demum necessario Germāni suas copias castris eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt paribus intervallis, Harūdes, Marcomannos, Tribōcos, Vangiōnes, Nemētes, Sedusios, Suebos, omnemque aciem suam raedis et carris cir- 15 cumdederunt, ne qua spes in fugā relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae ad proelium proficiscentes milites passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romānis traderent.

1. **declararent.** For further remarks on this subject, see Tacitus, *Germania*, Chs. VIII.–XI.

4. **contendissent.** Compare the answer of the Spartans when the Athenians sent for their aid to repel the Persian invasion just before the battle of Marathon, Herodotus, VI. 106.

6. **alarios.** *I. e.* the allies, so called because in earlier times they were stationed on the wings of the legions.

8. **quod.** The order of these clauses would be different in English — Caesar arranged the allies as indicated to make them look like Roman legionaries, because he was so inferior to the enemy in the number of his strongest foot-force.

13–15. The only two of these nations that have any prominence in history are the Marcomanni, who were the leaders of the great German war in the time of the Emperor Antoninus, about two hundred years after Caesar's death, and the Suebi. See Appendix I.

LII. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animadverterat, proelium commisit. (Et) ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato impetum fecerunt itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes coiciendi non daretur. Reiectis pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est. At Germāni celeriter, ex consuetudine suā, phalange factā impetūs gladiatorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri, qui in phalanga insilirent et scuta manibus revellerent et desuper vulnerarent. Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam coniecta esset, a dextro
 15 cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id cum animadvertisset P. Crassus adulescens, qui equitatu praerat, quod expeditior erat quam ii qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

20 LIII. Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt nec prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter V pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus con-

1, 2. **legatos et quaestorem.** For an account of these officers, see Appendix III., OFFICERS.

10. **phalange.** See Appendix III., THE PHALANX. Whether in this German phalanx arrangement the lines behind the first held their shields over their heads so as to form a sort of sloping roof, like the Roman *testudo* formation, or whether Caesar's statement about the soldiers leaping upon the phalanx and tearing away the shields applies to the shields of the front line only, is a matter of dispute.

16. **Crassus** was a son of the so-called triumvir, and was slain with him in the Parthian expedition of 53 B. C. See also Appendix II.

fisi tranare contenderunt aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem reppererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus eā profūgit; reliquos omnes consecuti equites nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueba natione, 5 quam domo secum duxerat, altera Norīca, regis Vocciōnis soror, quam in Galliā duxerat a fratre missam: utraque in eā fugā periit; duae filiae: harum altera occisa, altera capta est. C. Valerius Procillus, cum a custodibus in fugā trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, 10 in ipsum Caesarem hostes equitatu insequentem incidit. Quae quidem res Caesāri non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem attulit, quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum ex manibus hostium sibi restitu- 15 tum videbat neque eius calamitate de tantā voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat. Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item M. 20 Metius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

LIV. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato Suebi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos Ubii, qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos senserunt: insecuti magnum ex iis nume- 25 rum occiderunt. Caesar unā aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis, maturius paulo quam tempus anni

5. **Duae.** Among the Germans it was only the leaders who had more than one wife, and they did so for reasons of state.

21. **eum.** *I. e.* Caesar.

27. **maturius.** The time of this battle was about the tenth of September, 58 B. C.

postulabat, in hiberna in Sequānos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labiēnum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventūs agendos profectus est.

2. **Labienum.** See Appendix II.

3. **conventus.** It was customary for the governor of a province, after having spent the summer in military operations, to appoint certain days in winter for holding court thus in his province.

APPENDIX.

I. THE INHABITANTS OF GAUL.

OF the three chief peoples whom Caesar names as occupying Gaul, the Celts or Gauls seem to have been the principal representatives of the great Celtic race, which had in earlier times occupied much of Germany and Austria, and even of Asia Minor, as well as France, Belgium, and at least part of England. The Galatians of the New Testament were a branch of the race, and among modern peoples, the Scotch, Irish, and Welsh are of essentially Celtic origin, as well as the French. The Belgians were also primarily Celtic, but had become mixed with the German race so far as to have a sort of racial individuality of their own. The Aquitanians belonged, not to the Celtic, but to the Iberian race, whose chief representatives at Caesar's time occupied Spain.

Of most of the different tribes of Gauls mentioned in this first book of the Gallic War comparatively little is known beyond what Caesar tells us, but it tends to keep them distinct in the mind if one remembers the following facts about them: —

ALLOBRÖGES. A once powerful tribe who lived between the Sequāni on the north and the Roman province on the south, and who had been brought under the Roman sway in 121 B. C., although they seem not to have been formally incorporated into the Roman province until after their insurrection in 61 B. C. Catiline's conspirators unsuccessfully tried to persuade the ambassadors of the Allobröges to join the conspiracy of 63 B. C. Their chief town was

Vienna, now Vienne in France, and **Genāva**, the modern Geneva, was their frontier town towards the Helvetians.

BOII (or **BOI**). A large and powerful tribe, of which those mentioned here were but a small part, that joined the Helvetian migration, and after its failure were allowed, at the request of the Haeduan, to settle in their territory. Caesar says they came from beyond the Rhine, and there had been powerful sections of the tribe living on the Danube, and in the country now called (from their name) Bohemia. Another portion of this same tribe of Boii had early settled in northern Italy, and had had many bloody collisions with the Romans until their subjugation in 191 B. C. and subsequent incorporation into the province of **Gallia Cisalpina**.

HAEDUI. The most prominent of the Gallic tribes from the earliest times of our acquaintance with them. They had been called **socii** and **consanguinei** by the Romans as early as 121 B. C. They lived between the Saône (**Arar**) and Loire (**Liger**), and their chief town was **Bibracte** (map, C 5), the modern Autun. The prominent Haeduan mentioned by Cæsar in Book I. are the brothers, **Diviciācus** and **Dumnorix**, and the magistrate, **Liscus**.

HELVĒTI. A warlike Celtic tribe whose abode corresponded roughly with the part of modern Switzerland north of the Alps and west of Lake Constance. Their country was divided into four districts or cantons, of which only two are known to us by name (**Tigurinus** and **Verbigēnus**). The Tigurini and the people of one other canton joined the invasion of Gaul and Italy by the Cimbri and Teutōni, and the Tigurini under Divico during that time (107 B. C.) destroyed the Roman army under L. Cassius Longinus. The only prominent Helvetian mentioned by Caesar, besides the aged Divico, was the ill-fated **Orgetorix**.

LATOBRIGI. A tribe who were neighbors of the Raurāci and Tulingi, and who joined them in the Helvetian migration.

RAURĀCI. A tribe living in the region northeast of the Sequāni. Their chief town was the little place near Bâle,

in Switzerland, now called Augst, and in the time of the Roman Empire known as *Augusta (Raurācorum)*, or, later, as *Raurācum*. They joined the Helvetian migration.

SANTŌNI (sometimes wrongly called *Santōnes*). A powerful tribe living on the west coast of Gaul, north of Aquitania.

SEQUĀNI. Neighbors towards the east, and especial rivals of the *Haedui*. Their chief town was *Vesontio*, the modern *Besançon*. They, together with the *Arverni*, had given the invitation to *Ariovistus* to come into Gaul and help them against the *Haedui*.

TREVĚRI. A half-Belgian tribe, whose territory extended along both banks of the *Moselle (Mosella)*, and eastward as far as the Rhine. They were especially famous for their cavalry. In the time of the Roman Empire their chief town was called *Augusta Trevērorum*, the modern *Trèves* (German *Trier*).

TULINGI. A tribe who lived between the *Raurāci* and the *Helvētii*, and who also joined the migratory expedition.

[The other Gallic tribes mentioned in Book I. are not of importance enough to make it worth while to load the memory with their names. The two following German tribes, however, are important.]

MARCOMANNI. A name first found in *Caesar*, and meaning "fighting inhabitants of the borderland." To just what German tribes it first belonged is not clear, but it became famous in the time of the early Empire as applied to tribes on the Danube, and still more famous in the wars of these tribes against the Romans in the hundred years from *Domitian* to *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (A. D. 81–180).

SUEBI. A conglomeration of German tribes who occupied the southern half, or somewhat more, of what is now Germany, and differed from the other German peoples in

their nomadic way of life and in various customs. They were divided into a hundred cantons.

• II. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

CRASSUS (P. LICINIUS — DIVES). One of Caesar's best lieutenants for the first four years of his Gallic campaigns, distinguishing himself especially in the war against the Aquitanians in 56 B. C. Caesar afterwards sent him to assist his father, the triumvir, M. Crassus, against the Parthians, and he was killed in the ill-fated expedition of 53 B. C. He was an intimate friend of Cicero, although considerably younger.

DIVICIĀCUS. A prominent Haeduan, who, when the rest of his tribe took an oath of subordination to Ariovistus, refused to do so, and went to Rome to beg aid for his people. He was a devoted friend and assistant of Caesar and the Roman cause in the Gallic wars. In Rome he had also become acquainted with Cicero. When his brother Dumnorix was detected by Caesar in underhand hostility, Diviciacus interceded for him, although his own position of chief influence in his tribe had been wrested from him by Dumnorix.

GABINIUS (AULUS), consul with L. Piso for 58 B. C., was the tribune of the commons who, in 67 B. C., introduced the law that gave Pompey his vast military power against the pirates. He was made lieutenant to Pompey the next year in the war against Mithridates, and for some years showed himself a general of ability in Asia, but a most oppressive extortioner of money to pay his immense debts. His career in the province of Syria, after his consulship, was of the same character. On his return to Rome, there were brought up against him not only charges of extortion (*repetundarum*) and bribery (*de ambitu*), but also of treason (*maiestatis*), for having restored the Egyptian Aulētes to his throne at Pompey's bidding against the will of the senate. He escaped on this last charge, but was convicted on the first, in spite of the efforts of Pompey in his behalf,

and was sent into exile. In 49 B. C. he was recalled to Rome, with other exiles, by Caesar, and sided with him in the Civil War, although he took no active part against Pompey until after the battle of Pharsalus. He died at Salōnae in Dalmatia, in the winter of 48–47 B. C., on his way to Caesar with new reinforcements from Italy.

LABIĒNUS (TITUS). Had been tribune of the commons when Cicero was consul (63 B. C.). He was the best and most trusted of Caesar's lieutenants, and his achievements in Gaul will be found noted in many places in the Gallic War; but he was also the only one of Caesar's officers who deserted him and went over to Pompey at the outbreak of the Civil War. He was killed at the battle of Munda, in Africa, 45 B. C.

MAXIMUS (Q. FABIVS — ALLOBROGIVS). He was a nephew of the younger Scipio Africanus, and seems to have served in his army as quaestor at the siege of Numantia in 133 B. C. He saw service later in Sicily and in Spain, and as consul in 121 B. C. administered to the Allobrōges and their allies the crushing defeat which gave him his title of Allobrogicus.

MESSALLA (M. VALERIUS — NIGER), one of the consuls of the year 61 B. C., is spoken of by Cicero as an effective orator. He was censor in 55 B. C.

PISO (L. (CALPURNIVS) — CAESONIVS), one of the consuls of the year 58 B. C., was father-in-law of Caesar, and owed his consulship to Caesar's influence. He had already narrowly escaped conviction on a charge of extortion, but after the consulship still governed his province of Macedonia very badly in 57 and 56 B. C. Even after this he was made censor in 50 B. C. In the Civil War he remained neutral, and though after Caesar's death he was bold enough to resist, unsupported, the arbitrary proceedings of Antonius, he later became reconciled with him.

PISO (M. PVPIVS), consul with Messalla for 61 B. C., really belonged to the gens Calpurnia, but was adopted by a certain Marcus Pupius. Piso had been quaestor in

85 B. C., and one of Pompey's lieutenants in the Mithradatic War, just before his consulship. As an orator he had even served Cicero as a model, though in later days Cicero's opinion of him seems to have been unfavorably influenced by personal enmity.

POMPTINUS (GAIUS). Had been a lieutenant under M. Crassus in the war against Spartacus (71 B. C.), and praetor in the year of Cicero's consulship (63 B. C.), before he quelled the uprising of the Allobroges in 61 B. C. He went to Cilicia as lieutenant to Cicero in 51 B. C., but did not stay with him till his return.

III. THE ROMAN ARMY.

THE Roman army at the time of the Gallic War consisted of a body of heavy-armed infantry, made up of a number of legions (*legiōnes*), special companies of light-armed auxiliary infantry, and various troops of cavalry.

THE LEGIONS were composed exclusively of Roman citizens, and were numbered in a consecutive series, though serving under different commanders in different parts of the Roman world. Roman citizenship had been granted to all the Italian allies about thirty years before Caesar went to Gaul. In the Civil War legions called *legiōnes vernaculae*, and not consisting of Roman citizens, were enlisted in the countries where the war was fought. At that time, also, the opposing generals numbered their legions separately, so that Augustus had afterwards to renumber the whole army.

Each legion consisted of ten cohorts (*cohortes*), each cohort of three maniples (*manipŭli*), and each manipule of two centuries (*centuriae*) or lines (*ordīnes*). The regulation number of men in a legion is not definitely known, but the average number is reckoned at about 4,000. Instances are found, however, of legions containing widely different numbers, as a result of their losses in service. On the basis of this average a cohort would contain 400, a manipule 133, and a century 66 or 67, instead of the hun-

dred which its name implies, and which it had contained in early times when the army was differently organized. (Compare the "companies" of our army, with their theoretical number of 100 men.)

OFFICERS. In Caesar's army each legion was commanded by a *legātus*, or by some other officer whom Caesar put in command for the time being. A *quaestor* is so spoken of in Book I. Ch. LII. The *legāti* were not appointed as commanders of special troops, but as assistants to the commanding general. Caesar had ten *legāti*, so that, as in the first year of the Gallic War he had but six legions, some of his *legāti* must have served in other capacities than as commanders of legions. Sometimes, as in the winter quarters, a *legātus* had more than one legion under his command. Each general had one *quaestor*, who was properly the treasurer of the army, but was sometimes also employed as a commander. Each legion had also six military tribunes (*tribūni militum*). Before Caesar made the *legāti* commanders of the separate legions as such, the tribunes had taken turns in commanding their legions, but after that their position lost its importance. Each century was led by a centurion (*centurio*), so that each legion had sixty centurions. The centurions were soldiers who had been promoted from the ranks by the commander of the army, but how they were ranked among themselves is not known, except that those of the first line so called (*centuriōnes primi ordinis*) made a sort of higher class by themselves. There was also a class of assistant centurions called *optiōnes*, who were either chosen by the centurions themselves or appointed by the *tribūni militum*.

STANDARDS. The chief standard of the legion was the eagle (*aquila*), carried by an *aquilifer*. This standard consisted of a silver (occasionally even a gold) eagle, with spread wings, and sometimes grasping thunderbolts in its claws; it was fixed upon the end of a wooden staff. Each manipule had a standard of its own, called a *signum*, which usually represented some animal, and was carried by a *signifer*.

THE LIGHT-ARMED COMPANIES consisted usually of slingers (*funditōres*) and bowmen (*sagittarii*). They were either enlisted from the subject-allies or hired from independent foreign nations. They were combined into cohorts, and their commanding officers (called *praefecti*) were generally Romans.

THE CAVALRY also consisted of foreigners, and was distributed among the different legions, being commanded as a rule by Romans. A troop of cavalry consisted of *alae* (wings), which were commanded by *praefecti* (*equitum*), and divided into *turmae*, or squads, and these into *decuriae*, led by *decuriōnes*. The *decuriōnes* in the cavalry, like the *centuriōnes* of the infantry, each had an *optio* as an assistant. How far the number of men in a *decuria* varied from the theoretical number ten is unknown, nor is there any exact information on which to reckon the numbers that made up different cavalry divisions. The *turmae* had standards called *vexilla*, quadrangular pieces of cloth of different colors in different squads. These were carried upon poles, being attached to a horizontal cross-piece, like the banners of many societies nowadays, not like our military flags.

SPECIAL TROOPS. Besides the regular troops, the army contained a body of *evocāti*, or veterans, whose term of service had expired, but who accepted the invitation of the general to join his standard. There were also certain soldiers called *beneficiarii*, picked out of the legions and assigned to different officers for special duties. These two classes of troops were exempt from guard-duty and from labor on the fortifications.

ENGINEERING OPERATIONS. In earlier times the army had had a special engineer corps, under command of a *praefectus fabrum*, but in Caesar's army the very varied and extensive engineering operations, of which we read in the Gallic War, seem to have been performed by the regular soldiers. The *praefecti fabrum* were retained as special adjutants, as it were, to the general, even after the

fabri as such disappeared, though the only officers with this title mentioned in Caesar's works were in Pompey's army in the Civil War.

THE LEADER was called **dux** until, as the result of some victory regarded as especially glorious, he was hailed by his army as **imperātor**. His staff consisted of the **legāti** and **quaestor**, and he had also a body-guard of picked soldiers and young gentlemen from Rome, who accompanied him to learn the art of war, and were assigned to special duties when desirable.

THE MUSIC CORPS of the army consisted of four kinds of trumpeters, the **tubicīnes**, **cornicīnes**, and **bucina-tōres** for the infantry, and the **liticīnes** for the cavalry. Of their instruments the **tuba** and **lituus** were straight trumpets, the first spreading at the end, the other with the end turned up like a shepherd's crook; the **cornu** was curved in a circular sweep; the **bucīna** was of twisted metal, and curved more sharply.

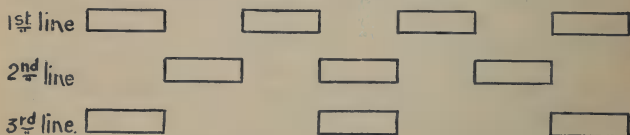
UNIFORMS, in the modern sense, were not used in the Roman army. The soldier wore the tunic (**tunīca**), with a girdle (**cingūlum**) outside of it, to which his sword was attached. Over this he had a **sagum**, or military cloak, which was fastened on the right shoulder by a clasp (**fibūla**), and came down to the knee. On his feet he wore a sort of half-boot, called **calīga**, not unlike ours, though sometimes a mere stout sole bound upon the foot with straps, and leaving the toes bare, seems to have been used.

ARMOR. In battle the **sagum** was, of course, left off, and a leather or metal breastplate (**lorīca**) was put on, as also a metal helmet (**galea** or **cassis**) with a crest (**crista**) of feathers. In earlier times **ocreae**, or metal front-pieces for the leg below the knee, were also worn, fastened by buckles behind; but they had gone out of use at Caesar's time. The shield was the large rectangular **scutum**, made of hide, with metal rims at the top and bottom, and curved lengthwise like the bark of a tree.

For WEAPONS the soldier of the legion carried a **pilum**,

or javelin, and a short sword (*gladius Hispānus*). The javelin consisted of a wooden shaft, with an iron bar imbedded in one end of it, the whole length being some six feet, of which the shaft made rather more than half. The end of the javelin was pointed and hardened, but the rest of the iron was soft, so that the weapon bent when it pierced anything, and was thus harder to pull out. The sword was two-edged, but was used rather for thrusting than cutting. It was carried on the right side, so as not to be interfered with by the shield. Sometimes a knife (*pugio*) was worn in the belt on the left side. The old Roman cavalry had carried long swords and heavy spears, but Caesar's foreign cavalry carried light arms. The slingers used sometimes stones, sometimes pointed lead slugs.

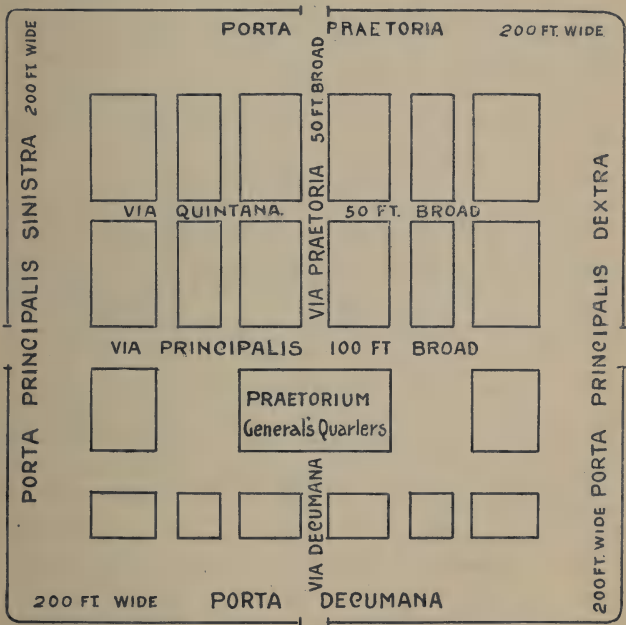
The favorite ORDER OF BATTLE was the so-called "triple line" (*acies triplex*). The ten cohorts of the legion were drawn up in three lines, of which the first contained four cohorts, and the other two, three each. The cohorts of each line were separated from each other by the space occupied by a single cohort in width. Thus : —



This arrangement allowed the light-armed skirmishers, by whom the battle was generally begun, to draw back through the intervals of the legion without confusion. Then the first and second lines could attack alternately, relieving each other at intervals, or the second line could close up with the first and the whole seven cohorts advance with unbroken front, while the three cohorts of the third line were held back as a reserve.

THE FORTIFIED CAMP. The Roman army rested every night in a fortified camp, made after the day's march whenever they moved from one locality to another. The ordi-

nary form of camp was a rectangle with rounded corners, surrounded by an earthen wall (generally sodded on the outer side), with a ditch outside of it. Inside the wall a space two hundred feet wide was left clear (except for the presence of the baggage and possible booty). The general arrangement of a camp can be readily seen from the following diagram, though, of course, different camps varied in details, as well as in size.



The side of the camp which contained the porta prae-toria, was toward the enemy. The officers' tents were grouped about the praetorium, and there were a raised platform (*tribūnal*), from which the general addressed the assembled soldiers, and a place called an *augurāle*, containing an altar, but just how these were arranged, as well

as how the troops were distributed about the camp at Caesar's time, is not definitely known, except that the legions occupied tents in the forward part of the camp. Sometimes the surrounding wall was surmounted by a palisade or breastwork called a *lorica*.

THE PHALANX. In the battle-order called the phalanx the soldiers stood close together, the shields of the front line being held before them and overlapping each other, while the first five lines held their spears leveled in rows one above another. The spears were long enough to allow those of the whole five lines to protrude beyond the front of the phalanx. The Macedonian phalanx had a front of 256 men, with a depth of 16, or sometimes double these numbers.

IV. NOTES.

Murum . . . fossamque perducit (Ch. VIII.). The banks of the Rhone are so steep for most of the distance mentioned in this passage, that the amount of work necessary to fill up the intervals with a sort of rampart and ditch, so as to produce a continuous barrier such as seems implied by *perducit*, was much less than one would at first suppose. Napoleon III., in his life of Caesar, counts up only five places where the Helvetians could have attempted to cross the river, and where, therefore, most of Caesar's fortification work must have been done. These five places covered a distance of somewhat more than three miles altogether. Supposing Caesar to have had about ten thousand men at work, the task could have been accomplished in three days or so. It is not, however, necessary to infer that Caesar designedly makes a misleading statement here, in order to make the work appear greater than it was. His purpose is to bring before the minds of his readers a picture of the completed barrier that he had succeeded in interposing to the progress of the Helvetians, and it is fair to suppose that the educated Roman public for whom he wrote was not wholly ignorant of the nature of the country.

Iter in Santonum fines (Ch. X.). Though the Santōni

lived rather far from the Roman province to make the danger here alluded to by Caesar very pressing, it is not fair to accuse Caesar offhand of bad faith on that account. In this matter, as in many others, we are bound to keep in mind Caesar's character and his relation to the times in which he lived. Amid the conflicting opinions of historians on these points, it seems safe to note that Caesar's whole career was marked by two leading desires: the desire to promote to the utmost the best interests of his country as he understood them, and the desire to win the highest renown for himself in the eyes both of his contemporaries and of posterity. It is not necessary to assume that either one of these desires overtopped the other in his soul, though no doubt his conduct on individual occasions was sometimes more guided by the one, sometimes by the other. Gaul furnished a promising field for the attainment of both. The practical way to reach this was to defend Rome from all further danger of Gallic invasion, and at the same time to increase her dominion and glory, by conquering Gaul and incorporating it into the Roman empire. But Caesar, partly from conviction and partly to shut the mouths of his adversaries at Rome, felt it desirable to justify the particular steps in his course of action in his province by showing that the doings of the Gauls from time to time necessarily shaped his policy as it was, and that the interests of Rome sometimes demanded of him a practically unconstitutional speed and energy of action, instead of allowing him to wait for the slow processes of senatorial direction. Bearing all this in mind, each reader must make his own decision as to how far the great commander's justification of himself in particular instances was valid.

Legatum pro praetore (Ch. XXI.). Full power as military commander or as political administrator (the so-called right of *imperium*) was granted, during the time of the Roman Republic, only to the consuls, proconsuls, praetors, and propraeors (and the dictator when there was one). It could be exercised only outside of the city of Rome. In

the latter days of the Republic, praetors did not leave Rome during their year of office, nor did the consuls, except under extraordinary circumstances, so that the independent generals whom we meet are practically all proconsuls, like Caesar in Gaul, or propraeors. (Though the proconsuls and propraeors were properly, and generally, men who had been consuls or praetors respectively, they were not necessarily so.) The *legāti* were appointed as assistants to the commanding general, and were, apparently, sometimes given the rank of propraeor, as in the case of Labienus (Ch. XXI.), and perhaps of others of Caesar's lieutenants.

Vectigalia . . . redempta (Ch. XVIII.). Instead of collecting the taxes through directly appointed officers, as is now customary, the Romans had a system of tax farming, as it was called. The government sold to the highest bidder the right to collect the different kinds of revenue under the terms of certain laws. Whatever he succeeded in raising from the people in excess of what he had to pay the government was, of course, so much gain for himself. So large an amount of capital was necessary, however, in order to make the payment to the government before the taxes were gathered, that corporations began to be formed for the purpose of farming the taxes about the time of the Second Punic War. The tax farmers were called *publicāni*, and belonged to the order of knights (*equites*), the senators being forbidden by law to engage in any commercial pursuits, and lower classes not having capital enough for such purposes. In Ch. XVIII., Caesar speaks of a similar system as in vogue among some of the Gauls.

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